A large, stylized graphic of a leaf, possibly a maple leaf, is positioned on the left side of the cover. The leaf is divided into two main color sections: a bright orange section on the right and a solid black section on the left. The background is a vibrant green.

politics for life

the
ecology
party

**Britain's
GREEN PARTY**

A MANIFESTO FOR PEACE, LIBERATION AND SURVIVAL

We must do what we conceive to be the right thing and not bother our heads or burden our souls with whether we're going to be successful. Because if we don't do the right thing, we'll be doing the wrong thing, and we'll just be part of the disease and not a part of the cure.

E F Schumacher

politics for life

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This Manifesto is divided into two parts, the first being a more general discussion of green politics, and the second a detailed account of our policies.

Should the urgency and practicality of the Ecology Party's proposals be something with which you are unfamiliar, please refer without further ado to the Ten Point Programme on p.26.

Details of the Ecology Party appear on the back cover.

We wish to express our gratitude to David Haldane for providing the drawings.

green poli

The ECOLOGY PARTY is Britain's GREEN Party.

If you know little about either ecology or green politics – don't worry!

This manifesto is addressed to all those who are looking for a new way forward, who have seen through the bluster of most politicians, who are just fed up with it all, who feel powerless to do anything about it, who are old enough or young enough not to feel complacent about things, who are con-

cerned about today's spiritual vacuum, who are looking for a bit more from life than another night in front of the TV, who care about other people, who have thought a bit about Planet Earth, who are prepared to look ahead beyond this election – to all those who haven't shut their minds, closed their eyes and tied their own hands.

This manifesto is addressed to YOU.

1. Politics for Life For Peace, Liberation and Survival

Why a world conservation strategy is needed

A world strategy for the conservation of Earth's living resources is needed now because:

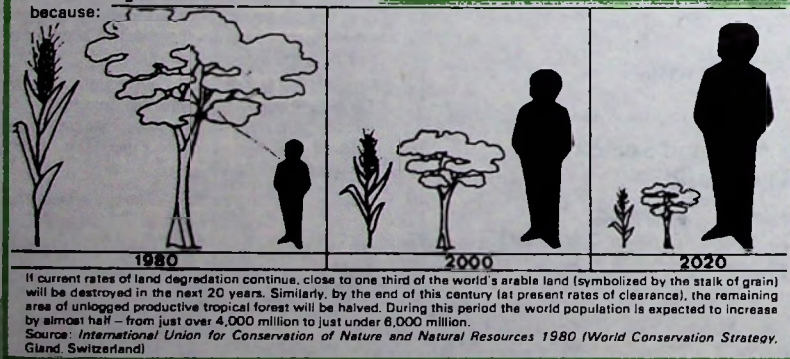
Green politics today is hard to define. It's a bit like the first days of spring. Winter may still cover the land, but there's a surge of new life reaching up. Green shoots through the wasteland.

You'd think that *survival* would be everyone's concern. The threat of a nuclear holocaust has certainly roused many people, yet that's just one of the many threats we

now face. And on this fragile planet, every threat to the Earth is a threat to us. Every wound inflicted on the Earth is a wound inflicted on ourselves.

The scale of it all is daunting. Some people have come to feel there's not much they can do to resist these threats – but many have realised that one answer to this crisis is to build a new world from the grass roots. A new politics is emerging, which does not seek the power of traditional politics (to gain domination over others and over the Earth), but the creative power which comes from understanding the real value of each individual and of the Earth itself.

That's what makes the connections between the songs of the Greenham Common women, the courage of Greenpeace anti-whalers in their rubber dinghies, the steady perseverance of Third World and environmental groups, the struggle for Animal Rights, the creative vision of the cooperative movement and the Ecology Party's 100 General Election candidates. We've all felt frozen out by today's political wasteland, but we've all felt in our hearts that same surge of life.



tics

2. Redefining the Opposition

The needs of the planet are the needs of the person.

The rights of the person are the rights of the planet.

3. Embracing the Earth

Everyone in politics needs a vision of the future. Ours is very different from that of the other parties. They choose to emphasize the *distinctions* between them, but the real problem lies in what they hold *in common*: namely, commitment to a form of progress which destroys the world and degrades the person. To that sort of 'progress' we're fundamentally opposed:

- opposed to every aspect of the nuclear state, from uranium mining to missile-building, and to the kind of centralised politics that has led us down such a dangerous road
- opposed to the economics of more and more, to grand schemes of reindustrialisation, and to those who talk so glibly about 'full employment' without appearing to understand that the future will be very different from the past
- opposed to those who see the rape of the

Earth as an inevitable side-effect of progress, who have no respect for other creatures and no consideration for future generations

- opposed to those who endorse today's unjust, unhealthy and uncaring society, blaming it all on 'lack of funds', 'weaknesses in the welfare system', or just 'human nature'
- opposed to a way of life which disregards the people of the Third World, flaunting our waste before their poverty, self-indulgence before abject misery
- opposed to a society that leaves no room for the spirit and for the growth of personal responsibility based on personal awareness.

Rather a lot of 'fundamental opposition' you might say! And you'd be right. But so few people seem to realise the extent of the danger.

None can deny the good intentions of those who dreamed of a world where poverty and oppression would be replaced for ever by industrial plenty. And none can deny that many millions have benefited as a result of that dream.

But it's rapidly becoming a nightmare — simply because people refuse to recognise where that state of plenty came from! Like all other species, we depend for our well-being and survival upon very delicate links with the rest of creation. The web of life — that's what ECOLOGY is all about.

We didn't weave that web of life: but we are the dominant strand within it. The tragedy is that our present way of life is based on *conflict* with the planet, rather than cooperation. The natural environment is being turned into a gigantic factory. Quality matters less than quantity, personal growth is swamped in a mass culture, personal communication is drowned by the mass media. Everything and everybody has a price. This grasping, degrading society sets us at each other's throats, and sets us all against the planet.

Make no mistake: this cannot go on for ever.

The life-support systems on which we all depend will inevitably collapse. It's just a question of *when*?

The slow destruction of the Earth cries out for radical changes in our society, in our politics, in our very souls. Until we learn to respect the rights of the Earth, there'll be no

guaranteeing the rights of its people. Until we insist on the human scale in all we do, there'll be no guaranteeing the rights of the Earth. Liberation and survival go hand in hand.

The old-fashioned politics of class conflict are grinding to a halt. The politics of life start here.

4.

In a nutshell...

For those who like their politics 'in a nutshell', this is what we mean by Green Politics:-

PEACE – through unilateral nuclear disarmament, complete withdrawal from the arms trade, a reduction in international tension through resource conservation, and a secure and credible alternative defence strategy.

WORK – guaranteeing basic material security and *good* work for all, based on renewable resources, human-scale technology, and the sustainable economics of self-reliance, recycling, rehabilitation and repair.

We believe that a programme like this is both radical and *realistic*. This isn't utopian dreaming – it's already happening, in Germany, Belgium, Italy and other countries. Green politics is the single most significant international movement since the birth of socialism at the end of the 19th century.

LAND – with a deep reverence for the Earth, and for all its creatures, leading to radical land reform, changes in farming practice, and comprehensive measures to control all forms of pollution.

PEOPLE AND SOCIETY – living in decentralised communities, with a proper balance between feminine and masculine values, protected by a Bill of Rights, working nearer home, leading healthier lives and ensuring that our children get a creative, constructive education.

THE WORLD – working for One World by helping the Third World, stabilising world population through genuine redistribution of wealth, eliminating our wasteful resource and energy depletion, and protecting the global environment.

THE SPIRIT – responding to people's hunger for meaning, placing less emphasis on material values, and more on personal growth and spiritual development – the life and *the soul* of green politics.

5. The International Green Movement

Parliamentary Representation for Green & Radical Parties in Europe

Italy: Partito Radicale
20 seats in Parliament

Belgium:
Ecolo (French Speaking)
Lower House 2, Senate 1
Agalev (Flemish speaking)
Lower House 2, Senate 4

Holland: Politieke Party Radikalen
7 seats in Parliament

West Germany: Die Grünen
27 seats in Parliament

Political ecology first got underway in America in the late sixties. A vast number of pressure groups and campaigning organisations came into existence, and both Democrats and Republicans were forced to make a high priority of many different environmental concerns.

In the early seventies, the publication of influential books such as "Blueprint for Survival" and "The Limits to Growth" began to spread the message through Europe. Political parties and environmental pressure groups were set up in one country after another.

Green parties are now established in almost all West European countries, and there are green representatives in the European Parliament, and in the Belgian, Dutch, Italian, Finnish and West German national parliaments. The varying electoral success of all these different parties has tended to reflect the extent to which their electoral systems are *genuinely* democratic.

The Radical parties in Holland and Italy (important members of the Federation of European Green Parties) were the first to make an impact. But the first self-styled *green* representatives to be elected to a national parliament achieved that success in the 1981 General Election in Belgium. With about 5% of the vote, they won four seats in the Lower House and five in the Senate.

It is, of course, the German Greens who have done most to promote the cause of green politics in the eighties. With a system of Proportional Representation which requires them to cross a 5% threshold in order to get candidates elected, they won seats in six of Germany's State and City parliaments between 1980 and 1982. With the experience and credibility gained at this level, they were able to mount a most effective and inspiring campaign in the 1983 General Election, winning 27 seats in the Bundestag with 5.6% of the vote.

Their uncompromising opposition to nuclear weapons, nuclear power and the worst excesses of industrialisation, together with an imaginative and realistic approach to unemployment, combine to make them the

real party of opposition in the Bundestag today.

As regards France, the only other major European country, apart from the UK, without Proportional Representation, here, too, there are no green MPs – despite the fact that the green candidate in the 1981 Presidential Election showed the depth of support in that country by winning more than one million votes. The all-or-nothing electoral systems of France and the UK have frozen out so many good green candidates; with the German system of Proportional Representation, and the same level of support gained by the Ecology Party in the 1981 and 1982 local elections, we would now have more than 30 County Councillors and many more local councillors.

Despite such problems, green politics has moved on a long way from the environmentalism of the late sixties. Both in terms of our opposition to contemporary industrialism and of the alternatives that we have to offer in every single area of political concern, green politics in the UK has certainly come of age.

peace

1. Peace Politics



Most politicians talk about disarmament. We talk about *peace*. There's a great deal more to achieving peace than simply reacting to the fear of annihilation. That's why our commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament is set firmly within a co-ordinated and credible Alternative Defence Strategy. (See Section 4).

But let's start with the basics.

No Cruise. No Trident. No Polaris.
No nuclear weapons of any description.
No chemical or biological weapons.
No American bases.
No involvement in NATO.

This makes the Ecology Party the only uncompromisingly unilateralist party in this election. The way the Alliance has fudged this issue strikes us as dangerous and illogical – almost as illogical as Labour's decision to renounce Cruise and Trident but remain under NATO's nuclear protection whilst adopting a more or less unilateralist stance for this election.

Nuclear weapons are not just some nasty mistake in an otherwise healthy world. They are the logical outcome of an often aggressive, exploitative way of life. Our dependence upon nuclear weapons has exposed a deep-rooted social sickness, bringing many of us to challenge the basic assumptions that lie at the heart of our 'civilisation'.

We challenge the unthinking materialism which compels us to go on producing and consuming more and more. In 'Small is

In addition to the strongest possible strategic and moral objections to nuclear weapons, ecologists go further in their opposition. If we see ourselves as stewards of the planet, and of all life on it, then it must be stated once and for all that there is no conceivable situation which could possibly justify the use of nuclear weapons, and the appalling damage which would be done to the Earth itself.

The bluff of deterrence therefore becomes meaningless, for deterrence depends upon convincing the enemy that you *will* retaliate. Such an act of insane revenge is *not* an option for any ecologist – or indeed for anyone with any faith in the future.

We accept that unilateral action by the UK alone will not of itself make the world safe. But there is no doubt that such a decision by one of the world's major nuclear powers would help to reduce today's nuclear 'overkill', and encourage others to work for peace with greater sincerity and determination.

Beautiful', Fritz Schumacher wrote: "I suggest that the foundations of peace cannot be laid by universal prosperity, in the modern sense. Such prosperity, if attainable at all, is attainable only by cultivating such drives of human nature as greed and envy, which destroys intelligence, happiness, serenity and thereby the peacefulness of man".

We challenge the appalling waste of human and financial resources on excessive military

2. The Roots of War

State of the World's Military Machine

The trend is toward expansion, whether measured in government budgets, men under arms, research effort, number of weapons or their kill-power.

Further growth will be on top of new records in all indicators of military development. In financial terms, this means current annual outlays of:

\$600,000,000,000 in military expenditures
50,000,000,000 in weapons research
35,000,000,000 in arms trade

And a record weapons inventory, including
150,000 tanks
40,000 combat aircraft
50,000 nuclear weapons

Source: *World Military & Social Expenditures 1982*

by Ruth Leger, Sivard.

expenditure and involvement in the arms trade. This country's defence budget (£18 per week per family!) can only be maintained at the expense of schools and hospitals, help for the aged and care for the newborn.

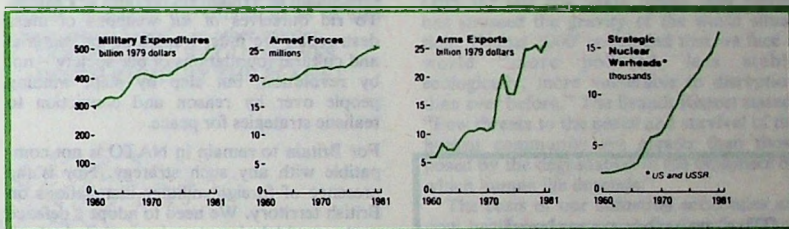
We challenge the fundamental immorality of a world that spends £250,000 million on arms every year, while millions of people of the Third World waste away in desperate hunger and poverty.

We challenge the phoney rhetoric that keeps 'the Cold War' ticking over. Rulers on both sides of the Iron Curtain have become dangerously dependent on being able to point to a convenient 'enemy'. But it is the people who are the enemy, or the rulers themselves?

We challenge the militarism in our society, and renounce the glorification of war. War never was and never will be glorious, as the terrible human tragedy and financial consequences of the Falklands War so clearly demonstrated.

We challenge our society's obsession with giant, inappropriate and destructive technology. Concorde, nuclear power stations, the space race, the arms race: they all help to make us servants of technology, rather than the other way round.

The stark truth is that we live in a world *already at war* – where people are at war with each other, and humanity is at war with the Earth.



3. Green Peace

The essential green position is therefore uncompromising: if we continue to live the way we do now, lasting peace is simply not possible, with or without unilateral nuclear disarmament. The stubborn maintenance of today's status quo guarantees a high level of violence in international affairs. Any defence policy must be set within a social, political and spiritual framework, which allows for the possibility of lasting peace becoming a *reality*.

That framework must be consistent. Which is why we are as strongly opposed to nuclear power as we are to nuclear weapons. The links between them are extremely close, even to the extent of plutonium from British reactors being used in the manufacture of nuclear weapons here and in America.

'Atoms for Peace' simply never existed. The plutonium connection means that we'll never get rid of the nuclear threat until the last

nuclear reactor is finally decommissioned. Sales of reactor technology abroad guarantee that by the end of the century many countries will possess enough nuclear material to manufacture bombs of their own.

And yet, despite the threat of proliferation, despite the financial costs, despite the horrific dangers of low-level radiation, despite the deadly nuclear waste, the Government still insists on the need for Sizewell B and a whole generation of new reactors costing more than £20,000 million.

It's little wonder that people feel powerless in the face of these huge threats. Too many have found themselves unable to solve relatively minor problems to have much faith in their power to act against the Bomb or against nuclear power.

Which is why the green movement lays such stress on the politics of participation and

4. Defence: An Alternative Strategy

The money required to provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world has been estimated at \$17 billion a year. It is a huge sum of money

... about as much as the world spends on arms every two weeks.



personal responsibility. Effective politics begins at home, in the way we ourselves choose to live, to use our time, to nourish ourselves and keep ourselves warm and healthy, to help others and work for the community. To be effective in our campaigns we must actually be living out a life in which there is simply no room for the worst monstrosities of our industrial culture.

Unilateral nuclear disarmament is therefore just the *first* step on the road to peace. The world will still remain a dangerous place, whether or not Cruise missiles come to Greenham or Trident submarines to Faslane. To rid ourselves of *all* weapons of mass destruction we must transform the material and cultural foundations of our society – not by revolution, but step by step, winning people over by reason and conviction to realistic strategies for peace.

For Britain to remain in NATO is not compatible with any such strategy. Nor is the presence of foreign military installations on British territory. We need to adopt a defence posture which is neutral as regards both superpowers, and to distance ourselves from those who continue to promote the 'Cold War' mentality. We should encourage other European countries to join with us in securing the removal of Soviet and American military personnel and equipment from Europe, with a view to establishing a genuinely defensive, non-nuclear, non-aligned European Alliance, incorporating countries in both Eastern and Western Europe.

That does not mean instant general disarmament. This country must be able to defend itself against attack or invasion or any infringement of our rights under international law, and should therefore continue to possess conventional weapons systems suited to a defensive role. But spending on defence should be progressively reduced, and we should be working to strengthen the commitment of all peoples to the peaceful resolution of disputes.

There's no doubt that a strategy of considered and responsible nonviolent direct action will have an important part to play in that process. The Peace Camps have become vital symbols of the potential within us all; the Women's Camp at Greenham Common has inspired and motivated people in a totally new way. As Gandhi said, "nonviolence is the child, not of the cowardly, but of the brave."

Any genuinely credible defence policy depends upon consistency in all other policy areas. We can only reduce world tension and conflict if we adopt economic policies which help stop the exploitation of developing countries and the depletion of the world's resources. Increased economic self-reliance will reduce the threat we pose to other countries, and allow us to feel less threatened by them.

We should therefore cease to participate in the arms trade, and stop all exports of military, nuclear and other repressive technology. Those resources presently devoted to the arms race should be converted to socially useful and productive ends. In the more decentralised society that we envisage, we shall be able to reduce our dependence on military power and develop nonviolent means of defence. These would be based on more self-sufficient communities, and all people would be educated in methods of nonviolent resistance.

We have come to realise that peace is not something that can be left in the hands of governments and military strategists. We must all become peacemakers. The forces for war and destruction will continue to pit their arsenal of propaganda, money and violence against us. But their power *can* be overcome through the unbending will of those millions of people now involved in a worldwide, grassroots movement for peace.

(For policy details on Defence and Foreign Policy, see p.27; on Energy, see p.29).

work

1. The Economics of More and More

In today's world, **ECONOMICS RULES**, O.K.! Everything else takes second place. It shouldn't be like that. 'Economy' simply means 'managing our affairs so as to meet our material needs' – in other words:

**DOING RIGHT BY OURSELVES
DOING RIGHT BY THE PLANET**



"IT MIGHT BE JUST A TREE TO YOU, BOY, BUT TO ME IT'S THIRTY SIX EASY TO ASSEMBLE KITCHEN UNITS."

Let's start with the planet – for that's where *all* our wealth starts.

Over the last few years report after report has stressed the gravity of the world situation. 'Global 2000' concluded that we face a world "more polluted, less stable ecologically, more vulnerable to disruption than ever before." The Brandt Report stated: "Few threats to the peace and survival of the human community are greater than those posed by the degradation of the biosphere on which human life depends."

The *costs* of our industrial economies are now beginning to exceed the benefits – and for the majority on this planet there are very few benefits anyway. Isn't there something quite inhuman about a system which denies the basic necessities of life to millions of people in order to satisfy the 'needs' of a small, over-privileged minority?

Even as we meet these so-called 'needs', we destroy our *common wealth*. Day by day we witness the accelerating loss of land, fertile soil, fresh air, clean water, forests, non-renewable fossil fuel and precious raw materials. We tread so heavily on this planet, as if there were no tomorrow.

But there is a tomorrow – and it belongs to our children.

Heard it all before? So we have – a thousand times. But nothing has really changed. "All you need is growth": that's still the refrain we get from our politicians, for all their declared concern about conservation and the environment. We seem to be trapped by the compulsion to consume more and more.

Projected Changes in Global Vegetation and Land Resources, 1975-2000

	1975	2000	Change	Percent Change
<i>millions of hectares</i>				
Deserts	792	1,294	+ 492	+ 62
Closed forests	2,563	2,117	- 446	- 17
Irrigated area	223	273	+ 50	+ 22
Irrigated area damaged by salinization and related problems*	111.5	114.6	+ 3.1	+ 3
Arable land	1,477	1,539	+ 62	+ 4

Source: Global 2000 Study projections

2. The Redistribution of Work

Yet if we could just escape from this treadmill, there's more than enough wealth to meet the material needs of *all* people, and still live in harmony with the Earth. Instead of wastefully using up non-renewable resources, we must learn to recycle, re-use, rehabilitate and repair. We must aim for greater self-sufficiency, and base new

industries on renewable resources. This doesn't mean stagnation: some industries will decline, but others will thrive – and they'll do so in a more responsible, more sustainable sort of way.

So that should be our first priority: to replace the ECONOMICS of MORE AND MORE with the ECONOMICS OF ENOUGH.

The economic and human costs of today's unemployment are appalling. Little wonder that this election resounds with calls for 'full employment' and 'putting people back to work.'

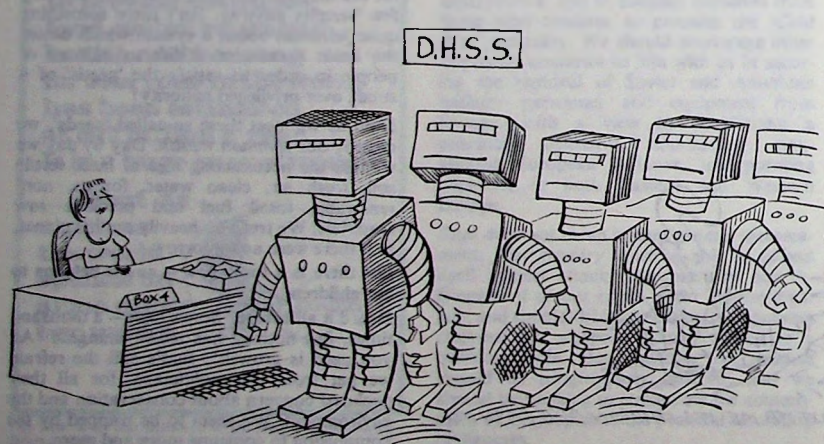
But in an economy still dependent upon old-fashioned growth, this just won't work any more. Growth depends on productivity, and productivity depends on the efficient use of capital – and that means getting rid of 'inefficient labour'. As the new microchip technology begins to bite, unemployment is going to get dramatically worse. It's blatantly dishonest to claim that this sort of technological 'progress' will create as many jobs as it destroys.

So if you're stuck on the old system, you'd better settle for *permanently high* unemployment. Everyone seems to agree that it's simply not an option to oppose the introduction of the new technology. "Automate and be damned" is all too literally true in this technologically-addicted world of ours. To earn the foreign exchange we need, we *have* to maintain our ability to compete in several manufacturing and high technology sectors – but that's not going to create many jobs.

Which is why we must find some way of 'dividing up the national cake' that is not necessarily dependent on people having a job. With high unemployment the bargaining position of the low-paid is undermined. We need to underpin the wages of the low-paid and halt the drift towards a divided society, in which those with high-technology skills or industrial muscle continue to demand high wages, while the low-paid and unemployed languish in increasing poverty.

The time has come to guarantee basic material security through a NATIONAL INCOME SCHEME. All social security benefit and tax allowances should be replaced by a single automatic payment. Everyone would be eligible, whether they were in work or out of work. There would be no means test; the payment would still be made, whatever one earned in addition, so as to restore the incentive to work.

In this way, the poverty trap could be eliminated. Hours of work and rates of pay would become more flexible. This in turn would reduce the distinction between paid and unpaid work, and emphasize the vital role which child-care and the maintenance of



the home play in society. It would allow fathers to participate more fully in this role, and mothers to play a fuller part in society outside the home.

We could then reduce the number of hours

worked, gradually eliminate overtime, set up comprehensive job-sharing schemes, encourage part-time working, and by such wholesale 'redistribution of work', significantly reduce unemployment.

3. Good Work

At the same time we can start thinking about the *quality* of the work we do. What's the use of degrading and alienating people through enforced drudgery? So desperate have people and politicians become, that work of any description is better than no work. We are forced to turn a blind eye to the mass of socially and environmentally irresponsible production that results from such desperation, both in terms of *what* we make and the way we make it.

We believe that *good* work – fulfilling to the individual and beneficial to the community – remains a necessity of the human condition. We have a basic *need* for, and a basic *right* to, the sort of work that need not be justified purely by its profitability or productivity. It's absurd to go on ignoring this basic need when alienation and apathy are already so widespread.

One undisputed advantage of the microprocessor is that it can enable machines to do mass-production jobs that

are boring, unpleasant and dangerous. But if the new technology is to underpin an economy that is both sustainable and humane, it ought never to deprive people of the chance to be involved in *good* work. A 'technology for life' would be used to enhance people's skills, rather than replace them. "Economics as if people mattered" – that's what Schumacher called it.

This clearly means an enormous shift in economic priorities, with the emphasis on small businesses and co-operatives, on part-time and casual work, on self-employment and community projects. We need a strategy of positive discrimination in favour of human-scale economic activity, ensuring easier access to start-up capital for new ventures, and reducing the red tape and the burdens of taxation which discourage so many small firms from taking on workers today. Multinationals and big business should be encouraged to split up into smaller units – the larger the firm, the more Corporation Tax it should have to pay.

4. Work for the Future

Economic growth must therefore be interpreted quite differently in a 'post-industrial' society. The emphasis must be on regenerating the economy from the bottom up. **COMMUNITY-BASED SELF-RELIANCE: LOCAL PRODUCTION FOR LOCAL NEEDS** – that's what we mean by the *sustainable* economy. There will still be considerable scope for growth through the development of socially-useful products, and the provision of the real needs of society through small-scale enterprise. There's clearly more good work to be done than there are people to do it.

Local government should become much more involved in developing an imaginative

and flexible framework for the funding of new jobs. We need more Regional Enterprise Boards and Community Employment Agencies set up to ensure that a revitalised, co-operative structure can arise out of the decay of existing industries. Local Skills Centres could provide appropriate training and re-training, laying particular emphasis on jobs which develop marketable skills and which further the interests of the community.

It is essential that we use the rapidly diminishing returns of a growth-orientated economy more productively if we hope to effect the passage to a sustainable economy before it's too late. For instance, Community Savings Banks would promote the financing

of a more decentralised economy, and in the difficult transition period we face, local funds could be supplemented by central revenue from North Sea Oil. This would provide a far more efficient means of using public money to create jobs than any centralised reflation programme.

The proposals contained in this manifesto suggest how we might create many hundreds of thousands of worthwhile jobs in a sustainable, non-wasteful way. Food production should be encouraged at every level, with an emphasis on programmes of rural regeneration ensuring that many more people had access to land. The aim would be to provide 90% of our own food. Reafforestation and land reclamation schemes would be given urgent priority. The building industry would be expanded through the extensive renovation of run-down properties, both in towns and cities and in country areas, providing more work for small builders and self-employed skilled craftsmen.

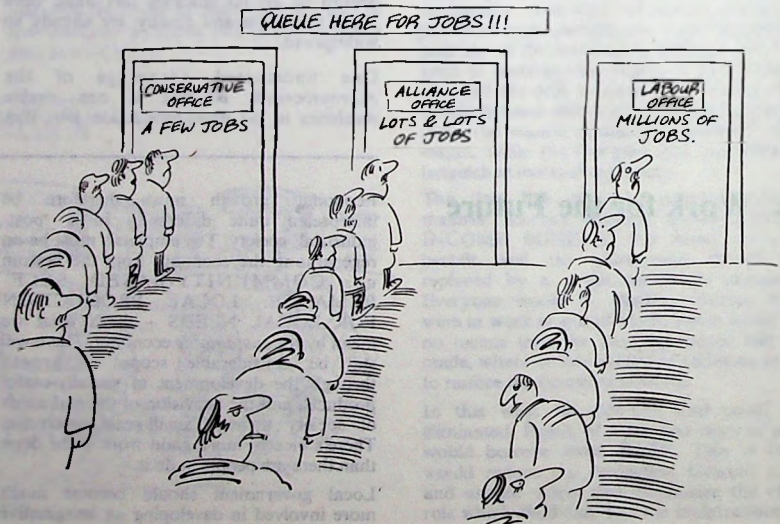
Our Alternative Energy Strategy would have

a tremendous impact on employment levels. Insulation and other conservation programmes, together with Combined Heat and Power schemes and the development of renewable energy resources, would create many thousands of jobs. A Resources Tax would provide the incentive for the re-use and recycling of raw materials and domestic waste, and encourage maintenance and repair firms.

There should be substantial investment in British Rail to provide the fuel-efficient transport we need. The repair and extension of our canal system and the complete overhaul of our urban sewerage system should be started at once.

These ideas amount to a realistic programme for *immediate implementation*. But it's also a programme for the future; Britain should take the lead right now in developing the opportunities of the coming post-industrial society.

(For policy details on Economics, Taxation, Industry and Employment, see p.28.)



land

1. Natural Wisdom

'The Earth is our Mother.
Let us start with that ...'

In 1855 the American Government wanted to buy some land from the Dwamish Indians. The natural wisdom of Chief Seattle's reply tell us a lot about how we've gone astray:

"How can you buy or sell the sky? We do not own the freshness of the air or the sparkle on the water. How then can you buy them from us? Every part of the Earth is sacred to my people, holy in their memory and experience.

We know that the white man does not understand our ways. He is a stranger who comes in the night, and takes from the land whatever he needs. The Earth is not his friend, but his enemy, and when he's conquered it, he moves on. He kidnaps the Earth from his children. His

appetite will devour the Earth and leave behind a desert.

If all the beasts were gone, we would die from a great loneliness of the spirit, for whatever happens to the beasts happens also to us. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the Earth, befalls the children of the Earth."

'Whatever happens to the beasts, also happens to us.'

That is why the green movement has been so deeply involved in upholding the basic rights of all other species. It is not enough to protect animals purely for practical, self-interested reasons. There must be a moral basis for our concern. The uncompromising radicalism of the Ecology Party's position on Animal Rights (set out in detail on p.32) is uniquely founded upon a philosophy of respect for all that dwells on this planet.

2. Land Reform

'Whatever befalls the Earth, befalls the children of the Earth.'

Which is why we must also uphold the basic rights of the land. It is our duty to leave the land at least as healthy and fertile as we found it. The land is part of our *common wealth*. Land is life!

At the root of all politics lies the vexed question of access to the land. The fact that most land in the UK is controlled by a few very rich landowners, private and institutional speculators and departments and agencies of central government, denies people their

natural birthright of access to the land. This sort of 'ownership' of land is incompatible with an ecological viewpoint, which puts the emphasis more on stewardship than ownership, recognising the land as a common heritage to be cared for on behalf of the community and future generations. The monopoly control of wealthy landowners and institutions must be brought to an end, and measures introduced to provide land for the people.

There are a number of measures whereby this might be achieved. We must distinguish between the land itself and what is on the

Ownership of Farmland: the maze of landownership is hard to unravel, partly because of the growth of trusts, partnerships and farming companies. About 1,300 individuals own about one third of Britain. But the large financial institutions are steadily increasing their stake in the best farmland. If they so wished, they could control about half Britain's total food production within 30 years.

Source: *Northfield Report*, 1979.

Source: *Whose Land Is It Anyway?* by Richard Norton Taylor.

land. Though the individual ownership of houses, farms, workshops or anything that improves the usefulness of the land would continue, it should not be possible to own the land itself. People should be tenants of the land rather than owners; instead of our present rating system, a Community Ground Rent, assessed according to the value of the land, would be paid annually to the community.

Nobody would want to pay the Community Rent on land they were not using, so it would cease to be an investment proposition, and land speculation could be brought to an end. The benefits of the land would derive solely from use. Many more people would be enabled to make their living from the large amounts of land released in this way.

Much of the land at present held by the

Government (particularly the Ministry of Defence) could be handed over to people in such a way as to create a large number of organic smallholdings and agricultural cooperatives. It might prove necessary to set a legal ceiling on the amount of land held by any individual, and to prohibit the acquisition of agricultural land by big businessmen and pension funds.

Such measures would promote the redistribution of land, and make possible the regeneration of our rural communities, without which the emergence of an ecologically viable agriculture remains improbable. Any plans to preserve the land or produce good food are a waste of time unless they allow for long-term stable connections between families, small farms and communities.

3. Farming and the Countryside

Farming is a biological activity – not an industry! By turning agri-culture into agri-business, we're turning the countryside into one big factory. And all in the pursuit of productivity and increased profits.



"OH, WE JUST GIVE HIM THE CIGARETTE TO CALM HIS NERVES."

Since 1947 output from agriculture, in terms of output per person, has doubled. Sounds good, doesn't it? But the *long-term costs* of pursuing maximum *short-term benefits* have been devastating: the destruction of countless rural communities through the loss of jobs; the gradual elimination of the small farmer, huge import bills for fertilisers, foodstuffs and other inputs, wasteful surpluses produced from wasteful subsidies; damage to the soil through single-crop agriculture, loss of animal, insect and plant species, the unnecessary depletion of resources and untold environmental damage.

In terms of any realistic cost/benefit analysis, that's a colossal bill! So the first thing to do is to redefine productivity by re-stating the ideals of agriculture: to provide good food whilst preserving the soil and conserving the environment; and to provide good work whilst ensuring the stability of the rural community. The only answer to the hideous 'rationalisations' of today's Farm Lobby is a return to mixed farms and small-scale, labour-intensive production methods, based on organic and biological farming practices.

~~Somerset Levels
West Sedge Moor
60 acres 1982~~
ploughed and drained

~~Norfolk Broads
Halvergate Marshes
22 acres 1982~~
ploughed and fertilised

~~Somerset
Stree Heath SSSI
3 acres 1981~~
trees felled and peat
extracted

~~Kent
Welland Marsh
142 acres 1982~~
drained, ploughed and
fertilized

~~Yorkshire
Ripon Park
16 acres 1982~~
ploughed, reseeded and
fertilized

Diversity is the all-important principle, and that applies just as much in forestry as in agriculture. Forestry land use in Britain accounts for only 9% of our land area, from which we provide a mere 8% of our timber requirements. Not only is this an environmentally dangerous level – it also makes timber our second largest import commodity. We therefore need massive reafforestation, but based on hardwoods and the use of many different softwood species – not on the endless carpet of conifers that is destroying our upland landscapes.

But we shouldn't entirely blame today's farmers and foresters. They're trapped in an economic and technological straightjacket which forces them to use 'modern' practices. The real responsibility lies with the Government and with the EEC for subsidising the worst of the damage.

In this respect the 1981 Wildlife and Countryside Act is an appalling piece of legislation. Its pious hopes of voluntary restraint and 'conservation through com-

pensation' have already been exploded. There are 3,877 Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs) – about 5% of total land area – which make up the backbone of a healthy, natural countryside. They are being destroyed or severely damaged at the rate of one a day.

This part of the Act should be repealed as soon as possible. SSSIs and National Parks must be given effective legal protection. The Nature Conservancy Council and the Countryside Commission are clearly not up to the job – so let's do away with them, and create an organisation with some real teeth. Full support should be given to the Friends of the Earth's Countryside Campaign to extend planning controls and the regulation of the grants system. From now on grants should be given to encourage conservation, rather than to bribe farmers to destroy the Earth.

(For policy details on Land Tenure, Agriculture and Forestry, see p.32.)



"IT'S NO GOOD GIVING THE LAND BACK TO THE WORKERS, THEY WOULDN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH IT."

people &

Green politics puts great emphasis on creating the sort of conditions in which all people

can develop their full potentialities of health, happiness, intelligence and self-fulfilment.

Human Rights

These goals can be achieved partly through legislation. In the areas of women's rights and racial equality, for instance, there's still much to do. Despite considerable progress, we still find these groups discriminated against and exploited. Equal rights, equal pay, equal job opportunities, equal treatment in law: these are still ideals that need to be converted into realities.

Such legislation should be incorporated within a Bill of Rights to safeguard the

liberties of all individuals. The European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms should be ratified and made part of our own law. And we urgently need both a Freedom of Information Act and a Data Protection Authority to back this up. Many of the applications of information processing technology should be brought under effective community control, and community involvement in all forms of the media should be encouraged.

Decentralisation

We can also legislate for the radical devolution of many powers away from Westminster. So many people today find themselves unable to control their own lives through their own efforts. We must restore that power to the community and to the individual: nothing should be done at a higher level if it can be done at a lower one.

As a first step towards this, we would establish devolved assemblies in Scotland

and Wales, and regional assemblies throughout England. Further powers would be devolved to the county or district level. The successful 'Nuclear Free Zones' Campaigns have demonstrated that ordinary people can effectively influence local and national government. Local government must therefore be given the power to carry out people's wishes.

society

Health

Specific decentralist measures should include reforms to restructure the Health Service and re-establish small community hospitals. Health education and health care schemes at the local level would restore the priority of *preventive medicine*, coupled with immediate legislation to ban the use of known toxic sub-

stances, to introduce stringent controls on the further development and use of drugs, and gradually to eliminate the appalling damage caused by environmental pollution. Much better facilities should be provided for the physically and mentally handicapped, and wherever possible they should be cared for at home or in local hostels.



"DARLING! THAT WAS HIS FIRST COUGH."

Education and the Arts

Much could be done to make our education system more accountable, more community-orientated and more responsive to the needs of children from all racial groups. Most children leave schools today poorly prepared for a rapidly changing world. The dependence of schools upon an antiquated exam system should be ended, extensive curriculum reforms encouraged, and much broader foundation courses provided. As they get older, children should be able to choose from a wide range of courses dovetailing with existing exams, business and technical qualifications and new schemes for youth training and vocational education. Schools should become more democratic

and participatory, with children sharing in the practical day-to-day running of the school. Secondary schools should become community colleges, offering full and part-time courses to people of *all* ages, and where possible providing other community facilities, such as libraries, day-centres, arts centres, sports facilities, and nursery and childcare provision.

Speculation about a coming 'leisure society' is all too rarely backed by any specific proposals. We believe that both the performing and the visual arts, as well as involvement in craft activities, have a vital role to play in the development and fulfilment of individuals and communities.

Proportional Representation

Given our present electoral system, it would take decades before sufficient consensus was reached on such radical reforms as these. That's one of the reasons we so badly need a system of Proportional Representation to ensure broader political debate and much fairer representation of people's real wishes in Westminster. But we should recognise that legislation alone is not enough. Magic answers won't suddenly pop up as a result of decentralisation or the introduction of P.R.

Decentralisation depends as much on people accepting their personal and community

responsibilities as on specific measures of devolution. Racial equality depends as much on blacks and whites working out a shared sense of direction and co-operation within the community as on existing legislation to prevent discrimination. 'Law and order' depends more on the elimination of poverty and inequality, on closer links between community and police than on new laws or tougher penalties. Good health depends more on people leading interesting, balanced lives, with fulfilling work and a healthy diet, than on high-technology, high-cost medicine.

GENERAL ELECTION DISTORTIONS

1979 ELECTION: THE FINAL SCORE					
	Total Vote	% Vote	Seats	% Seats	% of Total Electorate
Conservative	13,697,753	43.9	339	53.4	33.3
Labour	11,509,524	36.9	268	42.2	28.0
Liberal	4,313,931	13.8	11	1.7	10.5
SNP	504,259	1.6	2	0.3	1.2
Plaid Cymru	132,544	0.4	2	0.3	0.3
Nat. Front	191,267	0.6	0	0	0.5
Others	871,512	2.8	13	2.0	2.4

Source: *Fair Votes*, May 1979.

Values

The green movement seeks to bring about far-reaching changes in people's attitudes and values. In the last few years we've seen what happens in a society so dangerously short of compassion, of caring, nurturing values as ours. We've come to realise just how damaging is the imbalance between the 'masculine' and the 'feminine' in our society. From the family to the workplace, from the community through to all levels of government, our society seems to endorse an aggressive and competitive code of conduct. We live in an atmosphere of violence: violence done to other people, to other creatures, and to the planet itself.

Today's imbalance is a reflection of a culture

divided against itself, and separated from the natural world by delusions of its own superiority. A healthy society will be one that redresses the balance between the feminine and the masculine and restores a sense of *wholeness*.

Only that sense of wholeness will allow for a truly compassionate and tolerant society, with people working together in a mutually supportive community, whilst valuing and preserving human diversity. The greatest resource we have today is the one which tragically we're making the least use of: the creative energies of people themselves.

(For policy details on all these areas, see pp.30-31.)



"NOW LISTEN, YOU SEXY LITTLE THING, I WAS INTO FEMINISM BEFORE YOU WERE BORN!!!"

the world

1. Foreign Policy

The world is in a mess: as the recession gets worse, the divide between the rich North and the poor South gets wider and wider; with the superpowers entrenched in positions of ritual hostility, détente is all but dead and buried; the international banking system is in disarray, and more than a dozen countries are on the verge of bankruptcy; and with the UN powerless, recourse to war (there have been 135 of them since 1945) is the inevitable result of massive arms sales and superpower intervention.

It makes a grim prospect.

What makes it worse is that the threats we face today are of a different order from before. Yet never has there been less 'good

neighbourliness'. Things are always being done in the interests of 'national sovereignty', yet are somehow left undone when it's a question of international solidarity. When will people realise that in today's world it's not a question of some ending up as winners, and some as losers? We're all in it together.

We need new ideals of international responsibility and cooperative endeavour. That's why the green movement lays such stress on internationalism – *at the same time* as we stress the need for greater self-reliance and self-sufficiency. To be exclusively pre-occupied with one's own country is a terrible form of political blindness.

For instance, most people in the green movement are strongly opposed to the Common Market – there never was a less ecological document than the Treaty of Rome! But we are concerned to build links within Europe of a different kind, with the emphasis on its regions, rather than its nation states, and on social, cultural and political objectives rather than economic, trade and technological ones.

We also believe that the United Nations should be considerably strengthened, its agencies restructured to cope with the challenges that now confront us, and its powers to influence and effect international cooperation greatly enhanced – particularly in the areas of food distribution, pollution control, resource management and population.

Act locally – think globally. That should be the watchword of politics today.



2. Protecting the Planet Resources



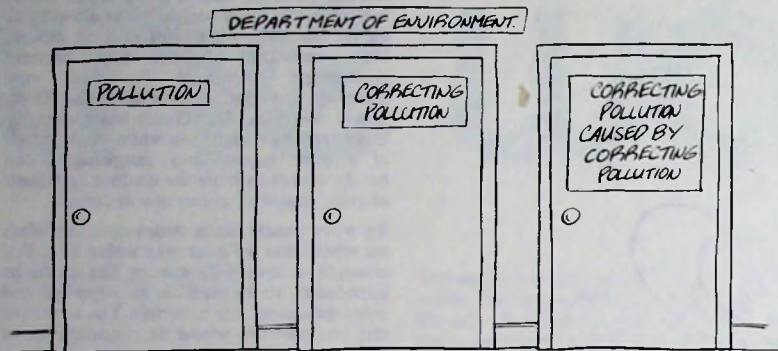
"IT'S QUITE SIMPLE. YOU DIG IT OUT, WE
REFINE IT AND YOU NEVER SEE IT AGAIN."

We now know that it's not so much a question of when certain resources are going to run out, as when they're going to run *short*. Ironically, the more sophisticated a society is today, the more dependent it is on others. Many industrial societies have become increasingly dependent for their raw materials and food on non-industrial, Third World countries. An affluent white minority in an overwhelmingly non-white world, much of it poor beyond our imagination, can hardly expect to have the continuing benefit of other countries' cheap raw materials.

So we're hardly being doom-mongers when we repeat that we must take action *now*. For example, a simple Resources Tax could be introduced, to be paid on all imported and home-produced raw materials. The impact of this one measure would be considerable: as well as reducing overall resource consumption and cutting imports, it would encourage our repair and recycling industries, the responsible treatment of all domestic and commercial waste, increased investment and research into resource-saving technologies, and long-overdue legislation to standardise and restrict packaging.

Economists tell us that these things aren't "economic". Perhaps that's so from the point of view of quick returns and private interest. But from the longer term view of social well-being and resource conservation, these things are both economic and *necessary*.

Pollution

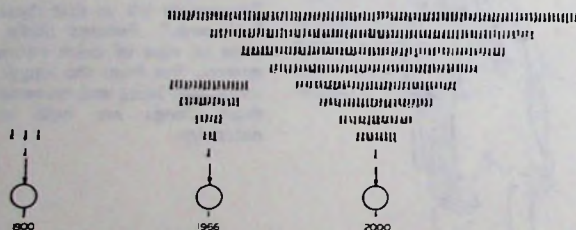


The same sort of common sense principle should apply to the control of pollution. The social and economic costs of pollution are carried by society as a whole. We believe that these costs should be more directly related to their cause: the polluter should be solely responsible for the cost of pollution control. An Environmental Protection Agency should be set up with far-reaching powers of inspection and regulation and the right to impose very heavy fines. It's absurd to go on spending millions cleaning up the mess and compensating people for the damage done by pollution – and then refer to pollution-control measures as 'uneconomic'!

Population

Increasing Demographic Pressure in the 20th Century

An estimate based on the expected increase in world population and in the industrial consumption of metals and raw materials per capita.



Source: Illustration from the journal *Successo*, Milan, June 1970, for the article "The Predicament of Mankind" by the author.

Most politicians simply refuse to face up to the problem of population. Yet with the world population doubling every 35 years, nothing could be clearer than the need for action *now*. And that concerns this country as much as anywhere else. As the World Conservation Strategy points out, the average person in the Northern hemisphere consumes 15 times as much as his/her counterpart in the South. Not only must we reduce our numbers – we must reduce our level of consumption.

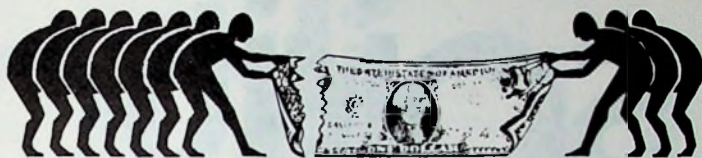
The Ecology Party utterly rejects compulsory or coercive measures of population control as an unacceptable and morally repugnant infringement of human rights. Voluntary cooperation, vigorous publicity campaigns, intensive education programmes and the development and promotion of birth control facilities throughout the UK: these are our priorities.

3. Worlds Apart – Or One World?

The basic problem for Third World countries is the First World. That's us. Shortages of food are not the primary cause of world hunger. Nor is population growth. *We are*.

More development, more trade, more aid; that's the usual recipe for Third World 'progress'. But it's quite clear that decades of

that sort of development have allowed us to become prosperous, dominant and over-fed, whilst leaving the Third World weak, starving and dependent. With three-quarters of the World's population, Third World countries control a mere quarter of its wealth. In today's world, one person's growth is another's famine.



FOR RICHER, FOR POORER

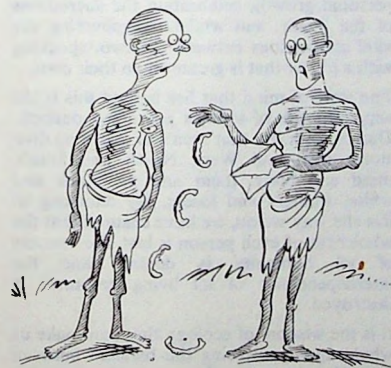
The rich will get richer, and the poor will get slightly richer too. But if the division of the world's wealth remains

the same as today, when world population stabilises the Third World will have 90% of the world's people and only 20% of the world's wealth.

Per capita Gross National Product (US \$ corrected for inflation)

	1975	1985	2000	% increase
WORLD	1,473	1,841	2,311	57
Industrialised countries	4,325	5,901	8,485	96
Developing countries	382	501	587	54
Bangladesh	111	118	120	8
USA	7,066	9,756	14,212	101
USSR	2,618	3,286	4,459	70
China	306	384	540	76

Source: *New Internationalist*, July 1982.



"HOW KIND, THE MAINWARINGS FROM WHITE HALL
HAVE SENT US THEIR CRUSTS."

Third World countries are first encouraged to export their crops, and then to buy our Western status symbols. As the peasants lose control of the land, wealth is concentrated in the hands of small élites. In effect, we are deliberately corrupting Third World governments, bribing them with arms and loans to betray their people by selling to us the produce of their precious land.

The Brandt Report identified some of the problems but came to the wrong conclusions. It endorsed many of those policies which have already done such harm, and there was little mention of land reform or the role of the multinationals – who would be the ones to benefit most from the sort of industrialisation and intensive farming envisaged in the Report. By contrast, we believe that all UK-based multinationals

should be subjects to a rigorous code of conduct, covering repatriation of profits, transfer pricing, patent rights, restrictive practices, labour relations and working conditions.

We must also accept the need for tariffs to *restrict* world trade. Trade over long distances is wasteful of resources, encourages the exploitation of less developed countries and discourages self-reliance. Those Third World countries still dependent on their commodity exports would be guaranteed the proceeds of any tariffs raised on imports from their country, and encouraged to diversify as soon as possible out of such commodities.

As regards Third World countries themselves, it's clear that Land Reform is of crucial importance. This should underpin rural development programmes to provide essential medical care, drinking water, education and housing. Increased aid (in the form of grants, not loans) should be linked to such reforms, rather than tied to trade agreements that largely benefit us. It should be used as a catalyst to promote locally self-reliant and ecologically sound economies, going directly to the people and not to the ruling élites. Debts of the poorest countries should be written off.

Such an approach stands far more chance of leading to a secure, peaceful world than a system of world trade based on greed, mistrust and economic domination. The time has come for a direct and radical attack on the causes of world poverty. It's not just a question of giving more: it's a question of taking less. For when it comes to survival, there is indeed only ONE WORLD.

(For policy details on Foreign Policy and the Third World, see p. 27; on Resources, p.29; on Pollution, p.33.)

the spirit

We must tread with care when we talk of the spirit. It means many things to many people, and in the green movement that quality of diversity is respected – unquestioningly. But we are at least united in the conviction that to talk of the future without reference to the spirit is absurd.

Half the trouble is that, apart from the uniquely inspiring example of Mahatma Gandhi, there are so few models for what's going on today. Perhaps the best is the astonishing eruption of movements that took place in 17th Century England: the Levellers, the Quakers, the Diggers. At the same time, their religion and their politics were dismissed as naive, incoherent and 'emotional'. But they all combined a fierce spirit of decentralist independence with an equal respect for God and the Earth.

The first thing, then, is to recognise today's ecological crisis for the profound spiritual failure that it is. Kit Pedler, a life-long ecologist, wrote this just before he died: "It has taken me all my life so far to realise that the single greatest obstacle in the way of survival and an extended human vision, is the industrial society itself, and its suppression

of the most sensitive and creative qualities of the mind."

That spiritual vacuum has a lot to do with politics today. Politicians talk about people's needs as if material things were all that matter. And then, when the poison of cynicism is hard at work, they profess astonishment that we seem to have lost a sense of purpose, a sense of our own identity. We bow down before materialistic and 'rational' values, and correspondingly devalue the natural, the spiritual and the emotional.

Such values do not serve us well. Most of us need some spiritual dimension to our lives just as much as we need food to eat and friends to love. Be we Christians or Buddhists, existentialists or agnostics, pagans or mystics, a vital part of our green politics, of our love and respect for the Earth and for each other, is to establish a spiritual democracy of all people.

One of the names given by the Greeks to the goddess of the Earth was 'Gaia'. Somehow we've lost touch with her: it's proved a little

difficult to revere that which we've been in the process of raping. But at the heart of today's green movement, one may often discern the spirit of Gaia, particularly in our emphasis on peace and nonviolence. Consider again the women at Greenham Common: reasserting the importance of personal growth, celebrating the sacredness of the Earth, and whilst rediscovering the vital connections between the two, speaking with a power that is greater than their own.

The state of mind that lies behind this is the very opposite of today's prevailing outlook. Ours is a society that seems to thrive on divisions: East and West, North and South, mind and body, them and us, black and white, winners and losers. By choosing to live the way we do, we have ensured that the wholeness of each person is lost, the oneness of all humanity is denied, and the interdependence of all living creatures is destroyed.

It is the wisdom of ecology that can make us whole again, restoring the balance between the logical and the natural, between ourselves and others, between humanity and the planet Earth.

policy

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I. *Action for life on earth now!*

A Ten Point Action Programme

1. **PEACE:** unilateral nuclear disarmament – no Cruise, no Trident, no nuclear bases, withdrawal from NATO. Launch a full-scale initiative to build a non-nuclear, non-aligned European Alliance. Withdraw from the international arms trade. Boost aid to the poorest countries, and act immediately to curb the worst excesses of the multinationals.

2. **WORK:** phase in a National Income Scheme to remove the poverty trap. Establish Community Employment Agencies and Savings Banks, providing financial incentives for small businesses, cooperatives and the self-employed. Create hundreds of thousands of jobs through sustainable agriculture, resources and energy policies.

3. **TAX WASTE, NOT WORK:** phase out National Insurance, introduce a Natural Resources Tax, a Turnover Tax and an Advertising Tax. Phase out VAT in favour of a graded purchase tax, and introduce trade tariffs to promote self-reliance.

4. **FOOD FOR THE FUTURE:** establish a programme for increasing agricultural self-sufficiency, (aiming to produce 90% of our own food) based on mixed small-scale farming.

5. **FREEDOM, PRIVACY, DEMOCRACY:** introduce a Bill of Rights, a Freedom of Information Act, a Data Protection Authority, Proportional Representation for all elections, and begin the devolution of power from Westminster.

6. **LAND FOR THE PEOPLE:** set up a Commission to advise on the prompt introduction of measures to redistribute land, including a Community Ground Rent.

7. **SAFE ENERGY:** abandon all plans for more nuclear power stations, particularly Sizewell B; stop work on Torness and Heysham B, decommission other nuclear power stations as soon as possible. Channel funds from North Sea Oil into Conservation and Combined Heat and Power schemes, and the development of renewable energy sources.

8. **A GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND:** repeal Part II of the 1981 Wildlife and Countryside Act and introduce statutory protection of Sites of Special Scientific Interest and other important habitats. Set up an Environmental Protection Agency to protect people and countryside against industrialism.

9. **GOOD HEALTH:** ban lead in petrol by 1987, 2, 4, 5-T, the asbestos industry and cigarette advertising. Put more NHS resources into community care, and cut back on drug prescription in favour of health education and alternative healthcare methods.

10. **ANIMAL RIGHTS CHARTER:** introduce mandatory protection for endangered species and ban the importation of whale products and seal skins. Take immediate action against battery farming, and move as rapidly as possible to abolish vivisection. Ban all hunting and coursing with hounds.

II. WORLD PEACE

A: Defence

1. The UK should unilaterally reject nuclear weapons, and all other weapons of indiscriminate mass destruction, withdraw from NATO and close down all American bases.

2. These actions would be the first step in a vigorous campaign for world disarmament. We would seek to establish a genuinely defensive, non-nuclear, non-aligned European Alliance, incorporating countries in both Eastern and Western Europe.

3. Having unilaterally renounced all nuclear weapons, Britain should continue to possess conventional weapons systems suited to a defensive role. Overall spending on defence should be progressively reduced, and the impetus towards conventional disarmament accelerated.

4. Weapons would not be sold abroad, and priority for UK aid would be given to those less-developed countries that do not have large arms budgets. (Specific supplies of defensive equipment would be considered in the case of neutral countries threatened with attack).

5. We should stop *all* exports of military, nuclear and other repressive technology. Priority should be given for implementing existing plans for the conversion of military industries to socially useful production; where no such plans exist, they should be developed as soon as possible.

6. Immediate priority would be given to a realistic strategy of nonviolent resistance to potential aggressors.

7. Present civil defence plans should be scrapped. Possibilities of protecting the general population in the event of a conventional attack or wind-carried radiation should be investigated.

B: Foreign Policy

1. We would seek to reduce international tension by building a self-reliant, sustainable economy in the UK cooperating closely with other countries during the transition to a post-industrial society.

2. We should withdraw from the EEC. We would seek instead to establish a European Federation, non-aligned in defence matters, opposed to reliance on economic growth, with its emphasis on the regions of Europe, and not its nation states, and committed to sustainability and justice, both in Europe and the Third World.

3. Antarctica should be declared a world reserve, and no exploitation of its natural resources permitted. The Law of the Sea should be immediately ratified.

4. Special attention would be given to a world-wide campaign to halt the spread of deserts and reclaim existing desert areas.

C: Third World

1. Aid for Third World countries would be increased. Rather than seeking to bolster UK industries, it would be linked to land reform and rural development programmes, with the aim of generating ecologically-sound, self-reliant economies in the Third World.

2. Debts from the poorest countries would be written off.

3. Trade would be discouraged by tariff barriers where appropriate, though exceptions would be made in the short-term, where this would cause hardship to less developed countries.

III. ECONOMICS, EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRY

A. Taxation and Benefits

1. A National Income Scheme would replace all existing welfare benefits and tax allowances, and would guarantee a minimum income for all, unconditionally, thus removing the poverty trap and encouraging part-time working. Taxation would be levied at a level sufficient to finance the scheme.

2. National Insurance would be abolished, the Employer's Contribution being phased out, and the Employee's merged with Income Tax.

3. A 'home responsibility payment' would be made to all those caring for dependants. Special schemes would be introduced for parents with young children to enable them to work part-time.

4. VAT would be phased out, being replaced by a graded purchase tax levied at the wholesale level. In the short term, repairs and live artistic performances would be zero-rated; the threshold for compulsory registration would be substantially raised.

5. We would introduce three new taxes: a Natural Resources Tax, to encourage conservation; a progressive Turnover Tax, with a threshold to favour small businesses; a tax on advertising.

6. Capital Transfer Tax and Capital Gains Tax would be retained. In the short term, levels of Corporation Tax would be set according to the size of the company: the larger the company, the more tax it would pay.

7. Self-help organisations and schemes promoting community development would be encouraged.

B. Company Structure and Control

1. Regional Enterprise Boards and Community Employment Agencies would be created to assist new small enterprises, especially of a cooperative or co-ownership nature. The emphasis would be on local production for local needs.

2. Community Savings Banks would provide easier access to start-up capital and finance.

3. Legislation to discourage industrial monopolies would be tightened up.

4. Major public services and strategic industries would be retained in public ownership, but the larger organisations would be broken up into smaller units; democratic control would be greatly extended and the sub-contracting of local and subsidiary services to worker cooperatives and other small firms would be encouraged.

5. Strict international control of multinational corporations would be sought, through a code of conduct, especially with regard to patent rights, repatriation of profits, transfer pricing, environmental impact and workers' rights.

6. New accounting standards would introduce a 'social audit', assessing modern technology and economics of scale in terms of total energy consumption, human values, environmental damage, and degree of centralisation.

C: Work and Skills

1. Local Skill Centres would be established, and re-training schemes would particularly seek to develop these skills required in a more self-reliant, sustainable economy.

2. Significant *additional* employment opportunities would arise out of the Ecology Party's commitment to the following policies:

- a energy conservation schemes
- b development of alternative energy sources
- c development of Combined Heat and Power schemes
- d mixed, small-scale rotational farming
- e intensive cultivation methods of food production
- f increased availability of land and small-holdings
- g reafforestation schemes
- h land reclamation schemes
- i a programme of comprehensive rural regeneration
- j the renovation of urban housing
- k all forms of recycling and re-use
- l repair and maintenance firms
- m more efficient waste management
- n a decentralised Health Service
- o improved educational services
- p electrification of railways
- q the development of inland waterways

Refer to relevant policy sections for further details.

D: Energy

1. While coal remains the backbone of our energy supply, further research should be directed towards using it more efficiently and cleanly. We should act immediately to reduce polluting emissions and prevent acid rain.

2. Extraction rates of oil and gas supplies would be set to maximise the total energy recoverable, and revenues from the North Sea would be used to finance improvements in energy efficiency and the conservation of resources.

3. Further research into and development of renewable energy technologies would become a major national priority.

4. No more nuclear power stations would be built. Existing ones would be closed down as soon as practicable. Nuclear research would be confined to finding ways of doing this speedily and safely, and of disposing of already existing nuclear waste.

5. A Central Energy Authority would be set up, absorbing the existing separate energy boards for gas, electricity, coal, oil, to eliminate the competition between them, and to co-ordinate the establishment of District Energy Authorities.

6. These District Energy Authorities would plan and implement a rational energy policy for each district, through the following measures:

- a the establishment of energy-use centres to advise on the most efficient fuel for each purpose, and on the whole range of domestic and industrial conservation possibilities
- b the administration of a Home Insulation Scheme
- c the promotion and the use of Combined Heat and Power
- d the encouragement of small-scale independent generation of electricity where viable, by allowing credits for power fed into the National Grid.

E: Natural Resources

1. A Natural Resources Tax on all imported and home-produced raw materials would be introduced to encourage the salvage, separation and recycling industries, the saving of resources and the minimisation of waste.

2. A Durability Tax would be investigated, with a rate related inversely to the useful life of an article. Manufacturers would be required to increase the guarantee periods on their products and to stock spares for an extended minimum period.

3. Local authorities would be required to separate municipal and domestic 'waste' at source, for recycling, re-use and useful conversion.

4. A Minimum Packaging Act and Container Deposit Bill would be introduced to ensure minimum safe packaging of goods and maximum recyclability of all containers.

5. A Standards Commission, combining the British Standards Institution and the Design Council would be set up to advise and recommend on all aspects of our resources policy.

6. A full survey would be undertaken to establish each region's actual and potential primary wealth – arable land, water, minerals, energy and opportunities for conservation.

IV. PEOPLE AND SOCIETY

A: Decentralisation and Electoral Reform

1. Resource management, pollution control, defence, foreign policy, international trade and monetary control would remain in the hands of Parliament. The power of Central Government in other respects should be diminished by a process of gradual devolution.

2. We would establish devolved assemblies in Wales and Scotland, and regional assemblies throughout England.

3. The most important tier of government would be the District Council, which would control its own finances and would collect all taxes. Communities would be encouraged to set up their own Community Council, and certain powers would be devolved to them from District Councils.

4. Elections for all levels of government would be by Proportional Representation on the Single Transferable Vote model.

5. The system of election deposits would be abolished. Candidates would be required to gain the nominations of 100 voters before being entitled to stand.

6. The House of Lords would be radically reformed to become more representative of political opinion and wider social interests, and more consistent with a decentralised society.

7. The Northern Ireland Issue should be the subject of consultations between the British and Irish governments and the people of Northern Ireland. The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland should initiate a public enquiry into the constitutional position there, leading to a referendum offering several options as to the future of the province.

B: Civil Liberties and Social Justice

1 Individual freedoms would be secured by a Bill of Rights, initially by incorporating into our law the European Convention on Human Rights. People would be protected without regard to race, colour, creed, political belief, sex or sexual orientation. Any immigration regulations would be subject to a proper regard for such rights.

2. A Freedom of Information Act would be enacted, guaranteeing the citizen free access to all but the most confidential government records.

3. A Data Protection Authority would be established to provide effective controls over the establishment and use of data-banks.

4. Community policing should become the normal method of policing. Statutory Liaison Committees, as recommended by the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, and an entirely independent Police Complaints Procedure would be established.

5. We should seek to reduce the prison population by the wide use of alternatives to prison sentences, the provision of appropriate care for the mentally ill or the physically sick, and improved welfare services both during and after prison sentences.

6. The responsible adult use of cannabis should be legalised.

C: Health

1. There should be more emphasis on small, well-staffed community hospitals, rather than large, high-technology institutions. Teaching hospitals would be required to place more emphasis on the prevention of ill-health.

2. Alternative health-care methods would be thoroughly assessed and publicised through the National Health Service.

3. Stricter controls would be placed on the prescription of drugs.

4. High priority would be given to improving ante- and post- natal care, and home confinements would be supported by expanding a community-based midwifery and obstetric service.

5. A healthy diet would be promoted through the mass media and through educational programmes in schools.

6. Smoking would be banned in enclosed public places. Tobacco and alcohol advertising would be banned. The use of food additives would be carefully scrutinised.

7. The asbestos industry would be gradually phased out. Lead would be removed from petrol as soon as possible, and strenuous efforts made to reduce the dangers posed by the presence of lead in paint and water-pipes.

8. Environmental Health Agencies would be set up at the local level, so that medical and social services, housing departments, industrial safety agencies and the Committee on the Safety of Medicines could work together to monitor occupational and other hazards to health. These agencies would work closely with the Environmental Protection Agency and all aspects of pollution and environmental health hazards. As well as powers to enforce current regulations, they would have an advisory and educational role to promote health education and broader awareness of the importance of individual life-style.

D: Education and the Arts

1. Educational provision would be comprehensive, co-educational and equally available to all. Its control would remain decentralised, though supplementary funding from Central Government would ensure that all areas receive equal per capita finances.

2. New schools would be built to accommodate no more than 800 pupils. Attempts would be made to reduce all existing schools to this number, while class-sizes would be reduced to 20.

3. Schools would be integrated much more closely into the community, with governors elected from and by the community to achieve this. Schools would be built to incorporate a wide range of community facilities like public libraries, day centres, arts centres, sports facilities and adult education and re-training facilities. Further educational facilities would be open to all as far as possible.

4. A far greater integration of handicapped and educationally sub-normal children into normal schools would be sought.

5. There would be a much broader curriculum in schools, with a greater diversity of subjects, far less specialisation, and with the emphasis on 'education for life' rather than the constraints of an examination system.

6. Whereas the compulsory school leaving age would be reduced to 15, the provision of business, technical and other training and vocational courses would be greatly increased, both within secondary schools and colleges of further education, with the intention that the availability of education should continue for life.

7. Nursery education would be available to all children over three, and further measures for community child-care would be improved.

8. Parents would retain the right to educate their own children (S.36 of the 1944 Education Act), and any proposals from parents to set up their own schools would be decided upon by the local authority.

9. Local authorities would be urged to establish Arts Centres where there was a local demand, and significant grants would be made through the Housing the Arts Fund to encourage this.

E: Transport

1. The main aim should be to reduce total demand for all forms of transport for people and goods. Road transport would be discouraged, with people relying on more fuel-efficient modes of transport.

2. All road building schemes would be reassessed in the light of this emphasis. This would have the effect of halting all motorway construction and most trunk-road schemes. Some of the funds released would be diverted into better maintenance of existing roads.

3. The maximum permissible size and weight of lorries would be progressively decreased.

4. The Road Fund Tax would be absorbed into a greatly increased tax on transport fuel.

5. The use of cars in urban areas would be severely restricted, and parking charges and fines would be greatly increased.

6. There would be major investment in public transport, particularly British Rail, including electrification schemes, the provision of a better local and cross-country service, improvement of industrial rail-links and the freightliner network.

7. Our canals and inland waterways would be restored and extended.

8. Bus priority measures, extensive cycle routes and other facilities for cyclists, would be introduced on urban roads.

9. Planning for pedestrian access in town and cities would be improved.

10. No new airports would be built, nor any existing facilities for air travel expanded.

V. THE ENVIRONMENT

A: Land Tenure

1. Fundamental reforms in our system of land ownership and tenure would be introduced, to provide the framework for the ecological use of land, to give effective recognition to the fact that land is a common heritage that should be free from speculative abuse, and to ensure that those benefits of land which are not due to any individual's efforts, accrue to the community.

2. A Commission would be set up immediately to advise on the prompt adoption of measures to promote the redistribution of land (such as the introduction of Community Ground Rent) and to extend to the population as a whole the opportunity to acquire land tenure.

B: Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and Food

1. The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food should immediately reverse present trends, and use grants available to it to encourage mixed, rotational farming, the use of organic manures and methods of pest control, a reduction in the size of farms, an increase in the number of people working on them, and the introduction of small-scale, energy-efficient agricultural machinery.

2. Scientific research into, and practical advice on, all methods of organic agriculture would be greatly expanded. Government incentives and advice would be specifically geared to breaking the present dominance of big business over all aspects of agriculture.

3. Fast disappearing rare breeds of domestic animals and plants would be preserved, and those suitable to the new biological agriculture reintroduced.

4. The use of agricultural chemicals would be controlled, and those having toxic properties (such as 2, 4, 5-T) would be banned.

5. The Forestry Commission's existing plans would be withdrawn, and a regionally organised reforestation programme would be introduced in its place, based on the use of hardwoods and a wide range of different softwood species, with the aim of providing a forest cover of 30% of land area.

6. Sites of Special Scientific Interest and other important landscape areas and wildlife habitats would be given immediate statutory protection. In place of the disastrous 1981 Wildlife and Countryside Act, penalties for abuse of these areas would include heavy fines against the owners, or confiscation by the Government.

7. Fish stocks would be conserved by establishing coastal protection zones in which areas would be left fallow for fixed periods and where destructive fishing methods could be carefully controlled. We would introduce assistance for fish hatcheries for the purpose of restocking waters now denuded of certain species.

C: Animal Rights

1. Our policies are aimed in the short term at combatting all forms of cruelty and neglect to animals, and eventually at reducing our reliance on animals to provide for our needs. Support would be given to genuinely progressive animal rights organisations seeking legislative reforms to alleviate or prohibit animal suffering and mistreatment.

2. Existing legislation on animal rights would be stringently enforced, and voluntary codes made mandatory.

3. The live export of farm animals for slaughter would be banned, and battery farming phased out through stringent measures designed to favour free-range husbandry. All intensive livestock systems would come under close scrutiny.

4. The Ecology Party is firmly committed to the eventual abolition by law of vivisection. Research and testing should continue to discover alternative non-animal tests and procedures, backed by adequate Government funding.

5. The use of animals for tests on cosmetics, for tobacco and alcohol research, and in weapons or biological and chemical warfare programmes, would be outlawed immediately.

6. The present 1876 Act relating to animal experiments would be amended to ensure that no painful experiments were performed on living animals without the use of anaesthetics at all stages. Experiments carried out by the Crown would be brought within the scope of the amended Act.

7. The import into the UK of all whale products, the furs and skins of all wild animals, and all products deriving from endangered species would be prohibited.

8. All hunting and coursing with hounds would be banned. To help protect swans, anglers' lead weights would be prohibited.

D: Pollution

1. The costs of pollution control and of cleaning up after any pollution that does occur, should be borne by the polluter. This principle would be rigorously promoted by a new Environmental Protection Agency, through the following powers:

- a monitoring of the generation of pollutants and their disposal.
- b administration of standardised pollution charges, designed both to encourage abatement, and pay for waste treatment and disposal.
- c imposition of heavy penalties for any infringement of strict new pollution laws.
- d co-ordination of research into ways of measuring and controlling pollution.
- e enforcement of strict new standards on the introduction of new chemicals and industrial products into the environment.
- f taking steps to reduce pollution by motor vehicle exhausts.
- g making recommendations for international standards for pollution levels, and ensuring that these are kept in the UK and its territorial waters.

2. The dumping of any pollutants in the sea or rivers would be banned. The temporary ban on the dumping of radioactive waste at sea (agreed at the 1983 Dumping Convention) would be strictly adhered to and made permanent as soon as possible.

E: Housing and the Built Environment

1. Building within urban areas would be confined within already built-up areas. Further encroachment on agricultural land and all green field sites would only be permitted as an integral part of rural regeneration and housing programmes. Existing housing stock in country areas would be converted and renovated in preference to new building.

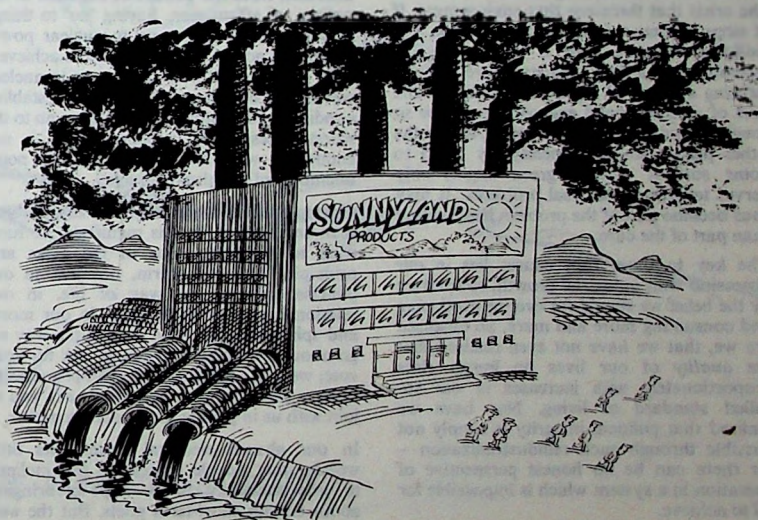
2. Old property in towns and cities would be maintained and improved, rather than cleared for wholesale redevelopment. Pressure would be brought to bear on owners to bring empty housing back in occupation and derelict land back into use.

3. Building standards for new and converted buildings would be upgraded, especially with regard to energy conservation.

4. Planning regulations would be altered, so that all categories of building and activity – light industrial, residential and commercial – could take place together within a community.

5. Home ownership would be encouraged, but not to the detriment of council housing stocks. Council tenants would be offered their homes on a Trust Holding Scheme which would give them the freedom of home ownership without the community losing its precious housing stock.

6. Community-based housing associations would be allowed greater flexibility to meet the needs of the areas they serve. Housing cooperatives and self-build societies would be given suitable encouragement.



CONCLUSION

Politics as if People Mattered

Green politics may have come of age, but we've still got a long way to go to persuade people that's where the future lies. The green movement itself has only just begun to see that the things which bind it together are more important than those which up until now have kept it weak and divided. As the political arm of the green movement, part of our job is to promote that sense of unity; those who continue to think of the greens as a single-issue movement, have really failed to see the wood for the trees!

Concern for the environment provides as good a starting point as any for green politics. But unless green politics encompasses the fundamental social and economic issues, then it will have contributed little towards eliminating the root causes of the crisis that threatens that environment. If it stops at mere reforms in conservation and pollution control, then it will merely be operating as a leaky safety valve for the existing systems of exploitative politics. The sort of environmental engineering we see so much of today (and by virtue of which the other parties so impertinently lay claim to some sort of mottled green tinge!) only serves to obscure the real problems. It may thus become part of the problem itself, rather than part of the cure.

The key to those root causes lies in our obsession with industrial growth, spurred on by the belief we should for ever be producing and consuming more and more. So obsessed are we, that we have not even realised that the *quality* of our lives no longer rises proportionately with increases in our so-called standard of living. Nor have we realised that political integrity is simply not possible through such reindustrialization — for there can be no honest perspective of liberation in a system which is impossible for *all* to achieve.

It's absolutely clear that the gap between rich North and poor South will not be narrowed by such dishonest criteria of progress. Each percentage increase in *our* consumption of finite and irreplaceable resources is an injury to the rest of humanity, as well as to our children and grandchildren. It wasn't to the poor that Christ preached poverty.

Industrial politics has lost its way and lost its soul. Today's winners take all at the expense of tomorrow's losers: the vast majority of humankind, the Earth itself and those unborn generations who will have to pick up the pieces. It is the task of radical green politics to fight for the rights of the unborn, as well as for the victims of high consumption industrialism.

To achieve this we must move from the politics of class interests to the politics of life interests, from the politics of negation to the politics of affirmation. Saying 'no' to things is not enough. Saying no to nuclear power stations is not enough if we wish to achieve a safe, low-energy future. Saying no to nuclear weapons is not enough if we wish to establish conditions for lasting peace. Saying no to the worst excesses of industrialization is not enough if we want to help today's poor, unemployed and disadvantaged.

Green politics is more about saying 'yes' than saying 'no'. In this manifesto we have tried to highlight some of the ideas and principles that we affirm, not just in our policies, but in our way of life, in our relationships with each other, in our moral and spiritual beliefs, and even in the way we go about our politics. When we ask for your vote, we don't make meaningless promises to do x, y and z on your behalf; we ask you to join with us in getting things done *together*.

In our absurd electoral system, its little wonder that people sometimes feel inclined to vote 'tactically' in the hope of bringing about certain short-term goals. But the way

you vote is one of the most effective ways of affirming what you really believe in: a vote is only wasted when it is cast for policies or people in whom you have no faith.

If our democratic system is ever to respond to people's real wishes, then those wishes must be made unequivocally clear. Sympathy with what we stand for is not enough; green politics can only prosper if that sympathy is shown in such a way that it becomes visible to all. We can't bring pressure to bear on the other parties until you help us to demonstrate just how strong that pressure is. Green politics will only become credible to the extent that people have the courage to affirm their own beliefs and convictions in the way they vote.

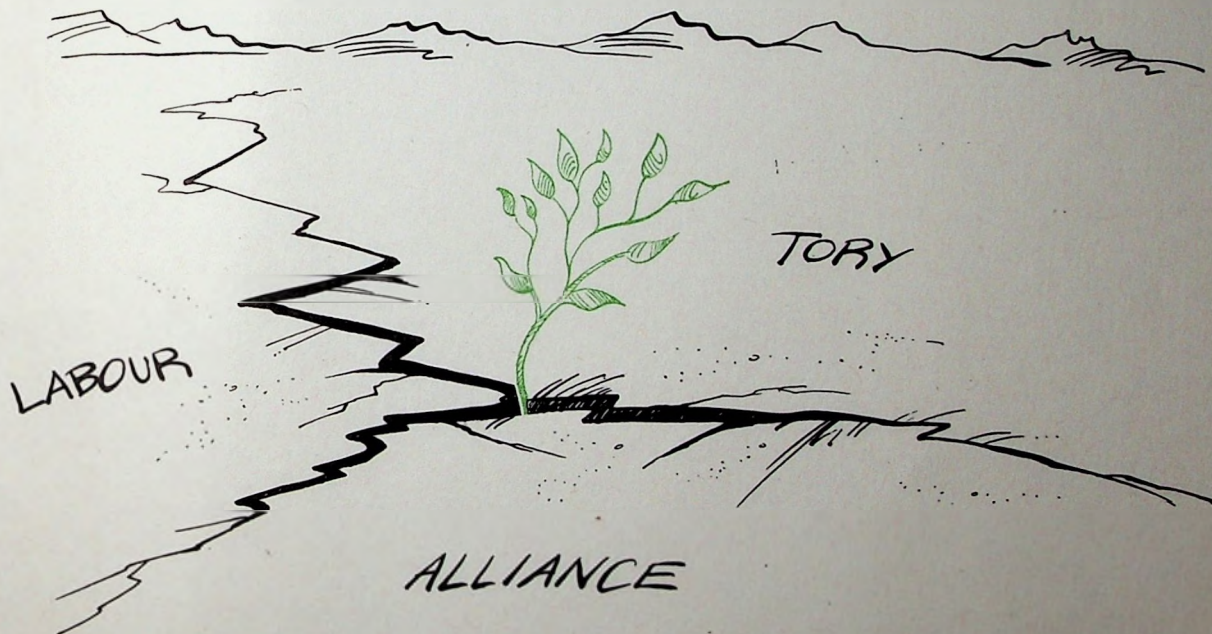
There should be no illusions about the urgency of this; as more and more people are driven into positions of political extremism, the threat posed to democracy today is as great as the threat to the biosphere. Fascist movements are already hard at work making systematic political warfare on the rights of ethnic and other minorities. A combination of permanent recession and the indiscriminate introduction of new technologies, means that many people will not only never work, but will feel increasingly encouraged to endorse totalitarian solutions. When personal alienation feeds on ecological breakdown, then all we have to look forward to is a veritable 'technocracy of the ruins'.

The challenge, therefore, for those committed to the green alternative is not only to demonstrate the obvious advantages of that alternative (for in the end, politicians of every persuasion *must* adapt to certain ecological imperatives), but also to persuade people to embrace it *now*, through democratic consensus, before we are all forced to do so under the blows of catastrophic social and economic collapse. Green politics is the art of persuading people democratically to accept the inevitable.

We shouldn't therefore see the future simply as an extension of the present. To avoid writing the Earth's obituary, we need to think about what *should* be, and not always about what is. We need to think again of the links between ourselves and the Earth, and the way the Earth speaks to us through an ideal of life. At the heart of today's decaying


industrial politics, a movement is taking shape which yearns for a quality of life wholly incompatible with today's economic and technological compulsions. We are seeking ways creatively to disintegrate those compulsions, blending our concern for people with our respect for the Earth through the politics of peace and liberation.

To be in a minority is not necessarily testimony to the futility of one's ideals and vision. As Fritz Schumacher said, in the words we quoted at the start of this manifesto, it is necessary to be doing 'the right thing' if you don't want to be doing 'the wrong thing'. The right thing must surely be to affirm the alternative embodied in green politics today, to affirm the politics of life.



WHERE THE WASTELAND ENDS.

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